

In fact

For The Millions Who Want a Free Press

(No. 64) Vol. IV, No. 12



Dec. 29, 1941

George Seldes, Editor

Re-entered as second-class matter March 12, 1941, at the post-office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879.

Published every week and copyright, 1941, in the U. S. A. by IN FACT, Inc., 19 University Place, New York, N. Y.
50 cents (52 issues) a year. Special introductory offer, 20 issues 25 cents. Foreign \$2.00 a year.

Phone AL. 4-6995

Boycott Pegler

ON a visit to Washington IN FACT learns that many notable persons, in government and out, are incensed over the columnist Westbrook Pegler's latest smear of the President. In his Dec 8 column Pegler called the President "tricky" and compared him and his methods to Hitler, giving Roosevelt the right to use Hitlerian methods. Many letters have been written to Pegler's Washington paper, the Post, in protest and a boycott is being planned.

A high ranking labor leader said: "If the general public will begin a boycott of the Scripps-Howard and other papers using the Pegler column, labor will put it over; but the general public should start it. Labor, not merely a handful of racketeers, has been slandered and libeled by Pegler. Labor cannot sue for libel, because US laws do not protect organizations, religions, minority groups. But labor will be glad to lead a national boycott against this most unfair columnist in the nation."

The Advertising Club of NY banqueted Pegler Dec 10, named him "Man of the Month for distinguished achievements in journalism." At the speakers' table: Wm Riordan of Stern Bros, advertiser, who recently got NY papers to suppress story about his daughter in auto accident; E R Dunning of N W Ayer & Son, which prints page ads against labor; Sumner Gerard of Committee for Constitutional Government, anti-labor organization; brokers and advertisers.

Federated Press reports from Sacramento: "Taking their stand as usual on the Pegler line, the Associated Farmers, exposed by LaFollette Committee as most vicious anti-labor organization in the West, concluded annual convention with resolutions calling for most everything except electrocution of any person found with a union card. Observers felt such a resolution might get serious consideration in 1942."

Poison on the Air

FROM Philadelphia to San Francisco IN FACT readers are protesting recent Town Hall of the Air celebration of the Bill of Rights. Up to now Town Hall and Institute for Propaganda Analysis were generally considered unbiased, non-partisan, absolutely fair.

Flint, Mich, subscriber writes: "Town Meeting of the Air went out of its way to heap contempt on one of our allies. . . . This is only part of the program of National Broadcasting Co to spew out poison by innuendo. . . . Listen to Upton Close, for example. . . . I am not a red but I resent like hell hearing stooges and self-advertisers dirty the air with villifi-

"Experts" Misled 40,000,000 U. S. Readers About Russia; Nazis' Retreat After Six Months Upsets All Predictions

WHEN George Bernard Shaw was asked on his 85th birthday, last July 26, what could be done to improve understanding between the British and Russian peoples, he replied: "The only thing needed is for the press to stop lying about Russia." IN FACT has given comparatively little attention to the press' attitude toward Russia, since our main function was to expose suppression, bias and distortion on vital domestic questions. But we believe that when the history of this epoch is finally written, the record of the press in regard to Russia ever since 1917 will rank as the most scandalous campaign of sustained lying the world has ever known.

One chapter of that record was written in 1920, when Walter Lippmann and Charles Merz (now editor NYTimes) collaborated on a notable pamphlet published by the New Republic, analyzing the Times' reporting of the Russian Revolution. For a while matters improved—Walter Duranty was sent to Moscow and began writing his illuminating dispatches, which continued for over 15 years. But on the whole the campaign of misrepresenting Russia to the world went on without pause. As a result most people in the United States, badly served by their press, have been ignorant of affairs in the Soviet Union. And not only the readers of the press—the writers themselves, with few exceptions, became victims of their own propaganda.

This propaganda pictured Russia as weak militarily and on the verge of dissolution. In recent years the greatest impetus was given to the military-weakness theory of Charles Lindbergh's pre-Munich report on Russian aviation, which was eagerly taken up and spread by the appeasers in Europe and here. The fact that in 1939 the Far Eastern Red Army fought the Japanese to a standstill, that in Finland Russian artillery literally blasted out of the ground the Mannerheim Line, regarded as even stronger for its size than the Maginot Line, because built later, did not materially modify newspaper insistence on Russia's "weakness." Back of this propaganda was a generation of theorizing about "breakdown" within the Soviet Union, which reached its peak in 1936 and 1937, with the treason trials which purged Russia of Fifth Columnists.

When Hitler attacked Russia on June 22 the 40,000,000 readers of the American press had been fully prepared for a quick and decisive Russian defeat. Immediately they began to be fed predictions of disaster. Today the Nazi armies are in retreat along the entire Eastern front. No one knows whether the Red Army's current victories mean the end of the Hitler war machine; but everybody must be aware by now that the very people the public depended on for accurate information and sound judgment—the military experts—didn't know what they were talking about when they discussed Russia.

"Life" Magazine, Baldwin, Johnson, Eliot

Life magazine (3,000,000 circulation, claims 20,000,000 readers) rushed into print a pro-Hitler issue (July 14, 1941). Here are Life captions:

"The Red Army battles to the death for the survival of the USSR." "The greatest army in world history . . . smashing through . . . USSR." "(Kerensky) predicts a speedy victory for Hitler."

The Nazi story of invincibility was spread throughout America. The Russian soldiers were said to be "most stubborn, if not most intelligent, fighters." The story continued: "After a thousand years of ups and downs, the huge mastodon of All the Russias was as close to total destruction as it has ever been. Its death struggle has a colossal majesty and terror not matched even by the fall of France."

The photographs showed "crack German infantry," a "Heartfelt Welcome, Heil Hitler" sign in a "Ukrainian village"; "Dead Russians, . . . gun probably never fired," "Nazi armored car gets Ukrainian welcome." Then followed a military expert who concluded "The crucial fact now is where and in what shape is the remainder of Russia's armies. If they have already fought west of Dneiper, the war is practically over."

General Hugh Johnson, himself only a part-time military expert, didn't

altogether go along with this theory. On June 24 he wrapped it up in questions for the Scripps-Howard papers:

"Is the Russian army as mushy as it seemed to be in Finland? How about the morale of the people, as well as that of the Red Army? It won't take long to find out that. We ought to know in a month if the Nazis are going to lance through there as they did in Poland, France and the Balkans—like a hot knife through butter."

Two days later he took the other experts to task:

"It is interesting to learn through the widest kind of publicity and within 48 hours after Hitler's volcanic action that our Washington publicity experts predict that Hitler probably will win the Russian campaign in a month and must win it in 3 months or lose the war. . . . If our experts didn't know enough to predict the coming of what appears to be the biggest land campaign in history they don't know enough to predict that."

But the experts thought they did know. Hanson W Baldwin of the NYTimes declared (June 29) of the Russians that "in staff work and leadership, in training and equipment they are no match for the Germans: Timoshenko and Budyenny and Stern are not the same caliber as Keitel and Brauchitsch. (Brauchitsch was fired by Hitler Dec 19; Timoshenko is still in the field.) Purges and politics have hurt the Red Army." Against this view is the testimony of Joseph E Davies, US Ambassador to Russia through the "purge" period. Davies, anti-Communist but a good reporter, has repeatedly said:

"When the democracies in the world indulged in wishful thinking and slept in false security, the Soviet Union cleansed its house of treason, built thousands of tanks and airplanes." (Speech at Boston, Dec 14).

By July 2 Baldwin believed the Red Army faced "a Tannenberg far more decisive than the first." (When the Czarist-led armies were defeated.) "The Russians," he said July 4 "so far have shown no evidence that they can meet the Germans with equal force or equal skill. . . . Nor is there any prospect that as the fighting in Russia continues the situation will be reversed."

Major George Fielding Eliot in the NYHerald Tribune fell in with the general "authoritative" view that Russia's armies were doomed, basing himself on the simple fact that ". . . no major (Nazi) offensive in this war has yet been definitely stopped, much less completely defeated."

Experts Guessed and Guessed Again

Hanson Baldwin was not so brash in his predictions of Russian disaster as some of the other experts, notably Fletcher Pratt of the NYPost (see later section). Baldwin muffled his defeatism in "might" and "maybe" and "remains to be seen" but always brought forward the most disastrous possibilities for the Red Army as the likeliest. In this desire to seem "objective" Baldwin sometimes slipped into complete inanity. For instance:

"... the Red Army, to win this campaign, must keep at least a considerable part of its strength intact. If it succeeds in doing that—even though it abandons quickly a large part of Russia in the process—the German army will have failed in its first objective, the objective of annihilation." (July 7)

By July 18 Baldwin was commenting: "Most discouraging of all, from the viewpoint of the Red Army, must be the restitution of the political commissar system in the army." This question of the commissars is a major one on which all the experts went wildly wrong. Eliot wrote July 20 that "... the restoration . . . of the system of political commissars cannot but be disquieting to Western minds, suggesting as it does the possible weakening of morale and even possible disaffection among the officer corps." Against these ready guesses is the testimony of innumerable dispatches emphasizing the important role played by the political commissars, both as advisors and as exemplars of utmost daring and courage.

After 5 weeks Baldwin's opinion remained that "The Germans have won major successes and the Russian army has suffered major losses." He listed four possible outcomes, three of them involving a German victory, remarking that a "definitive German military victory this summer" was most likely. (Incidentally, at this point Baldwin was going on the assumption that winter would put an end to the campaign. On Sept 6 he reversed himself: "... winter weather will not prevent a winter campaign—the Russo-Finnish war is clear evidence to the contrary.")

On August 15 Baldwin was arguing against sending quick aid to Russia, foreseeing a quick debacle. He complained that "neither the British nor the United States government knows much more about what is happening in Russia than does the American newspaper reader," therefore "Official American and British observers in large numbers, free to see for themselves and free to report the results of their impartial observations, should obviously preface the dispatch of any very considerable amount of aid to Russia." On August 18 he was still in the dark: "The Red armies that have been struggling against the Nazis in the past eight weeks are in many ways armies of mystery. Probably less is known

cation of the Ally who has done most to whip Hitler."

From Upland, Cal: "I listened in on Town Hall . . . about as clever a piece of Hitler-Fascist propaganda and maligning of our greatest ally as I have ever heard by Hearst, Scripps-Howard, NYTimes, Chandler, and our own Clivedeners. But don't get me wrong. I wouldn't stop it. Because such exhibitions confirm our misinformed people of the Quislings in our midst."

Gordon Brooks of Brooklyn was put out of Town Hall during the Nov 13 session on the subject "What Kind of Peace Do We Want" because he tried to ask Dorothy Thompson a question concerning Negro rights. Brooks protests Moderator Geo V Denny's conduct of meetings.

Impostures of Patriotism

FOUR days after Japan attacked Pearl Harbor and on the very day Germany declared war on the United States, the Chicago Tribune published an editorial expressing the hope Germany would fight Russia until both are exhausted. The Chicago Tribune had previously presented Hitler with a secret plan of the US War Dep't.

President Roosevelt has received a letter from Boone M Childs of Chicago, descendant of a pre-Revolutionary War family, saying: "The Tribune cannot now cover up its treason, sedition and intrigue by a veneer of flag-waving. . . . Do everything in your power to stamp out this disruptive rattlesnake."

From 1914 to 1917 the Chicago Tribune was pro-German. When America declared war with Germany the Tribune removed the names of its most pro-German writers from its columns. Up to the Pearl Harbor attack the Tribune followed the Nazi line. The next morning it restored Decatur's quotation to its editorial page: "Our Country, Right or Wrong."

In his farewell address George Washington said: "Beware the impostures of pretended patriotism."

The NYDaily News, which not only favored Japan but editorially gave the Philippines to the aggressor nation and justified this action by saying America can make more money from exporting to (Fascist) Japan than to (democratic) China, restored the banner "Our Country, Right or Wrong" to its masthead the same day as the Chicago Tribune.

On that same day also the Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter, the official organ of the Nazi Bund in America, came out with the slogan: "Our Country, right or wrong—when invaded." This, however, did not stop the authorities from seizing the paper.

These newspapers are not the only ones which have aided Hitler. In November Chief of Staff General Marshall informed the representatives of the most powerful press (the 3 news agencies, Time, Newsweek, NYTimes and NY Herald Tribune) of America's decision to defend the Philippines. Gen Marshall said if this decision were known to Japan it would have important results in strategy, and he obtained a pledge of secrecy.

Nevertheless the NYTimes printed the story (aiding Japan) Nov 19. It was signed Arthur Krock. "Krock was not (at the press conference) but he obviously was bound, if there is such a thing as journalistic ethics, by the agreement

entered into by his subordinate. . . . Krock was fully conscious of the importance of his story to the Japanese. . . . It is quite possible that the Japanese benefited from Krock's story."—TRB, New Republic, Dec 22.

On Dec 14 when practically the entire press honestly reported a Washington interview wherein Ambassador Litvinoff said all anti-Axis forces are united, that Japan is a member of the "international gangsters," the Times twisted the story and placed it under a false headline: "LITVINOFF SAYS 'NO' TO WAR IN EAST NOW."

Anti-Fascist Japanese

AMONG the Japanese residents of America are anti-Fascists of long standing, many exiled by the Japanese dictatorship. American citizens of Japanese parentage are mostly anti-Fascist. IN FACT gladly publishes following resolution of Nisei Democratic Club of Oakland, Cal, Ernest Iiyama, president:

"The Nisei Democratic Club has consistently supported democratic principles and opposed Fascism. . . . We are opposed to the Nazi policy of race supremacy. . . . We give all possible aid and cooperation to all those carrying on the struggle to rid the world of Hitlerism."

Myth Exploded

REMEMBER the photograph of Japanese soldier suicide squads carrying dynamite with which to blow barbed wire (and themselves) to bits? Carl Randau, PM correspondent, just back from Japan, says: "Japan is trying to build up the legend the Japanese are willing to die to do their duty, but this is mostly legend. All over Japan I saw photographs of 3 Japanese soldiers carrying a load of dynamite into battle. This is part of the buildup. In fact the soldiers didn't know they were carrying dynamite."

True or False

MOST newspapers still speak of "brave little Finland" and Finnish democracy. IN FACT has often said the small town press of this country is more honest than the big papers which are controlled by big business, banks, advertising. Here, for example, is what the New Milford (Conn) Times says:

"The Finnish-Swedish aristocrats who have controlled the country for many years have always been Fascists, and under the thumb of Germany. This was the group that broke up the Finnish Republic 20 or more years ago and was responsible for the butchering of 20,000 quite ordinary folk belonging to the opposing political party. That debt Finland owes to this country was contracted not to help make the world safe for democracy but to help the aristocrats

about their fighting potential than about any of the world's armies." The fact that the Red Army had been fighting against the Nazis' full power for eight weeks—something no other army in the world had been able to do—didn't tell Baldwin anything about the Red Army's "fighting potential."

About the beginning of September Baldwin began to see certain specific facts more clearly, though not in relation to the general outcome: Sept 2: "Russia shows no sign of breaking." Sept 5: "... the Russian armies are still in being," although he estimates Russian losses as "not unlikely" more than twice that of the Germans. "Sept 6: "... there is as yet no sign of the cracking of Russian morale." But on Sept. 10 Baldwin accepted as "more or less factually correct" the German report—denied by Moscow—of the encirclement of Leningrad as meaning "as it almost inevitably must, the eventual fall of the former Russian capital." (It didn't fall.) And on Sept 21: "Soviet strength is ebbing far more rapidly than the Nazi strength."

Five "Surprises" About the Soviet Union

Baldwin foresaw as "almost certain" the "destruction of most of Russia's western armies and conquest of the industrial heart of Russia west of the Volga." And he took this view despite the "five surprises" which he now listed:

1. The Russians apparently had far larger reserves of materiel—particularly planes and tanks—than had been believed.
2. The qualities of Red Army command and staff work seem to have been better than anticipated.
3. There have been no evidences of effective Fifth Column movements, or, as yet, political dissidence.
4. The army has shown what is apparently a greater capacity for maneuver than it was believed it possessed.
5. Anti-aircraft and anti-tank defenses, both formerly described as Soviet weaknesses, have been shown to be fairly strong.

Nevertheless and notwithstanding the demonstration that on these five vital points the experts hadn't known what they were talking about, Baldwin concluded: "The outlook . . . remains unchanged; the odds of military victory are still strongly upon Germany." Oct 13 Baldwin was proving that it was "probably too late" for a British invasion of the continent to help Russia—which "may well have sustained almost mortal losses before such an invasion could succeed. Only Russia can save herself." Oct 25: "... basic situation unchanged" and "Germany still seems to be winning."

But on Nov 4—"Nazis Suffer Defeats." The failure to capture Moscow Baldwin called a "psychological defeat" for Hitler. "It is quite possible and probable that the Germans will reorganize and go on to new military victories in Russia and elsewhere." Dec 5 the situation was somewhat clearer: "History at Rostov" was the head on Baldwin's column. "The Red Army is deflating the Nazi legend of invincibility." (Something Stalin had told the Russians and the world back in June.) "It is the Red Army, not the Nazi Wehrmacht that is now on the offensive. It may be a short-lived offensive, for the Germans will certainly counter attack, and perhaps successfully." (They didn't.) "The German reverses in the South are in part an index of continued Russian strength—strength that is surprising." (To Baldwin) "Another enforced pause apparently is at hand." (It wasn't.)

As late as Dec 15 Baldwin was still hypnotized by the Nazi view of the situation: "In Russia the Germans are apparently abandoning until spring their attempt to crush the Red Armies," he wrote, when dispatches from the front told only of Nazi columns, regiments, divisions and whole armies abandoning everything, including their guns, in fleeing for their lives.

Fascist Experts on "Liberal" Papers

It is interesting to note that whereas professional military men frequently write without prejudice or passion on military matters, the civilian "experts"—such as Baldwin, Pratt, Lowell Limpus of the NYDaily News, cannot restrain their own employers' prejudices from coloring their analyses.

One of the most striking cases is that of Fletcher Pratt, military expert of the "liberal" NYPost. This newspaper was one of the few in America which withstood pressure from the Coughlinites, pro-Hitler and pro-Mussolini Fascists and Knights of Columbus, during the war in Spain, which was the first attack of the Axis against democracy. The present editor of IN FACT was the Post's correspondent in Spain for 6 months. This paper and its then affiliates, Philadelphia Record, Camden Courier, Camden Post, were subjected to a boycott organized by Coughlinites.

At the very same time a pro-Fascist magazine, the American Mercury, the only publication in America which printed the views of self-announced Fascists such as Lawrence Dennis (later adviser to Charles E Lindbergh) published an attack on Loyalist Spain by the military "expert" Fletcher Pratt, who is now the expert of the Post.

Pratt, in the American Mercury, attacked not only republican Spain but anti-Fascists in America. He also defended the Nazis in Spain. He denounced the NYTimes for referring to Spanish Loyalists as Loyalists instead of "reds,"

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"Communists" or "anarchists" saying "the two latter parties divide 90% of the seats in the Spanish Cabinet." This of course was a falsehood. Pratt accused the NYTimes of favoring the Spanish Republic, as if this would constitute a crime. The truth is that so much pressure was brought on the Times by the Rev Curran, the Rev Thorning, the Brooklyn Tablet and the Coughlinites that the Times played up the dispatches of its pro-Franco correspondent Carney and suppressed or censored the unbiased reports of correspondent Matthews. (American Mercury Aug 1937.)

Four years later this pro-Fascist expert of the pro-Fascist American Mercury became expert of the "liberal" Post and began his career by saying: "It will take a miracle bigger than any seen since the Bible was written to save the Reds from utter defeat in a very short time"—NYPost June 27 1941.

Pratt also promised liberal readers of the Post that "the Russians are on their way to a debacle not paralleled in history." Pratt explained he based his predictions on the Nazi communiques which he called "extremely accurate," whereas the Russian official communiques "are utterly untrustworthy" as he had learned "from the experiences of the Finnish war." (On Oct 3 Hitler, in announcing the final great Nazi offensive to take Moscow, practically quoted Pratt: "German communiques are communiques of truth." He spoiled it, however, by asserting that the Russians were "already smashed and can never rise again.")

It is true that the entire American press—if there was 1% exception no one has yet found it—lied about the Russo-Finnish conflict. Although the Encyclopedia Britannica and most history books show Mannerheim as a Fascist and murderer of at least 15,000 Finns, no commercial newspaper in America informed its readers that "democratic" Finland was in Fascist control. Many newspapers lied about Spain, the Hearst press deliberately, others because of pressure from pro-Franco elements. But this cannot excuse a "military expert" from not knowing the simple facts. What you get from Pratt is not military science but pro-Fascist propaganda.

Even after the Red Army had launched its great counter offensive and the Nazis were in headlong retreat, Pratt held to his propaganda line. This was his contribution to Allied unity (NYPost, Dec 15) eight days after the Japanese attack on the US:

"A good many people are assuming that the Russians are holding off on helping us against the Japs because they have made a private deal with Hitler. The campaign in the snows would be an elaborate fake, in this view, designed to make the Russian people feel good and give them a few 'victories' before peace. 'It's just possible.'"

Dec 19 Pratt was still heavily bearish on the Russians. Their advances, he said merely mean "that the Germans have been stopped in an effort to get something they wanted."

Honest Experts Denied Wide Audiences

In contrast to the chorus of redbaiting which passes for military expertism in the daily press, there are indeed military experts who know what they are talking about. Two examples are: Lieut Commander Charles S Seeley, US Navy, retired, author of "Russia and the Battle of Armageddon," and contributor to the American Guardian; and Max Werner, author of "Military Strength of the Powers" and "Battle for the World," published by Modern Age.

Werner is not pro-Soviet, but he is honest, and he has written military facts rather than redbaiting smears. He has also been right most of the time. Of course the venal book reviewers who are afraid to praise a book which is not anti-Russian made no attempt to put "Battle for the World" into the best-seller class, where it belongs today.

Both these experts write for publications which pay one cent to two cents a word. Life, Time, NYTimes, Readers Digest and other millionaire publications, which print nothing but unfair, biased and distorted news about Russia, could afford honest writers. But no millionaire publication will employ a writer who will not color the news to suit the prejudices of its special reactionary interests.

Result: Millions of Americans have been fooled on the war news; only readers of the progressive publications have been getting the truth.

stamp out democracy in Finland. Natural now for that ruling group to be clinging to the tails of Hitler's coat."

The foregoing is closer to historic truth than the pro-Finnish editorials in 99% of the American press.

Interesting fact: the same NM Times also states: "To read the city daily papers one gets the impression that a handful of labor leaders is responsible for the bogging down of the defense program. . . . If the truth were told by the newspapers . . . perhaps Mr Gallup would find his polls taking on a different tinge. . . ." This newspaper exposes the commercial press, big business, labor-baiting politicians. Unfortunately the New York Times, which falsifies the truth about labor and Finland is a thousand times as powerful as the New Milford Times, which tells the truth. (Congratulations to editor Alfred Worley.)

Civilians and Total War

FULL and immediate use of the nation's productive machinery and a drastic re-vamping of the entire governmental defense organization to this end was recommended to the house by its special committee investigating national defense migration.

The committee, headed by Rep John H Tolan (D, Calif), told the house that at present American productive capacity is disorganized. "The committee believes," his report stated, "after months of hearings throughout the country, that even the most influential quarters misunderstand the meaning of the term 'civilian morale' and the proper manner for enlisting it in the great undertaking which has been thrust upon us."

The report declared that "only through complete participation of the whole people in a total war can civilian morale be enlisted and heightened. This requires a comprehensive and unified production plan and a single agency to centralize key decisions and decentralize operations."

"It is inconceivable that war can be waged successfully without such full utilization of our resources. The committee believes that today there has been a profound lack of such planning and an absence of the attitude necessary for the organization of our economy on behalf of the total war effort which we now see is called for if victory is to be ours."

Rep Frank C Osmer, Jr, (R, NJ), who recently resigned from congress to join the army as a private, wrote a concurring report expressing the belief the committee had not gone far enough. "I do not believe," he declared, "that labor will wholeheartedly support the defense program until it is given a voice in the formulation and execution of policy decisions regarding national defense production."

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